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THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY

By Herbert Aptheker

New York. Midstream Publishers, 1957, 256 pp.

This book contains an account of events in Hungary beginning with early Hungarian history and ending with a detailed treatment of the uprising of November 1956. Its primary aim, however, seems to be to convince Americans that their government is engaged in evil conspiracies on a world-wide scale, carried out through the Central Intelligence Agency and certain other instrumentalities such as the Committee for Free Europe. The Hungarian rebellion is taken to represent a temporary success on the part of this conspiracy. The post-war Communist government of Hungary is conceded to have contributed to this success by fostering discontent to the advantage of the conspirators.

The general line of argument is as follows. CIA is obviously more than a mere coordinator of intelligence; it engages also in "illegal" clandestine activity abroad. (See Enclosure A, Sections I and IV.) The CFE-EFE apparatus is similarly engaged, particularly in the field of propaganda. (See Enclosure A, Section II.) Numerous statements by important public figures between 1948 and 1956 are taken as evidence of an intention on the part of the United States to take all measures short of war to "liberate" the Eastern European satellites. (See Enclosure A, Section III.) Evidence is also adduced to show that Hungary was considered a particularly promising target among the satellites during this period. It is thus purportedly shown that the

"imperialists" had the intention and the capability of bringing about the events that came to pass in Hungary in November 1956. Evidence is then offered to show that the CIA-RFE apparatus was in fact exercising this capability before and during the Hungarian uprising. (See Enclosure A, Section VI.) The book concludes with what amounts to a plea to put a stop to such activities in the hope of preventing war, and because they can only interfere with, but not stop, the progress of world "Socialism."

Chapter IV, "Counter-Revolution and Cold War" (pp. 69-120) is devoted to a study of the Central Intelligence Agency and its alleged part in the uprising. (See Enclosure B for list of sources used in study of CIA and other topics.)

Mr. Aptheker begins by stating: "What the files of Central Intelligence and of the Pentagon, of the intelligence services of the Departments of Defense and State--and the archives of other governments--will one day reveal to the historian it is impossible, of course, to even surmise." (p. 78) In the meanwhile he proposes to give some intimation of what such files might contain.

He then quotes from Mr. Sherman Kent's Strategic Intelligence in an effort to show something of the nature of American intelligence services. Kent is, a sort of basic "authority" so far as this book is concerned, first because Strategic Intelligence goes to some length to show how "dirty" the work of intelligence can sometimes be, and second because Kent's name is one of the few officially associated with

the Central Intelligence Agency. The inference is that whatever so reliable an authority as Kent says about "intelligence" must be true; and since Kent is now in a high position in CIA, CIA must do all the things attributed to "intelligence" by Kent. The Harkness article on CIA in the Saturday Evening Post is chief among other "authorities" where it is assumed that because the authors claim to know a good deal about CIA, they must have received their information direct from CIA authorities.

In the course of nine pages (pp. 81-90) the author traces the development of CIA from 1946 to about 1953, with a fair degree of accuracy, using such sources as the Congressional Record, Collier's Magazine, The Christian Century, the Richmond News Leader, the New York Times, The Washington Post, and the Saturday Evening Post. In the course of this account, he makes use of various of Senator Mansfield's statements on intelligence as evidence that CIA is a dangerous force insufficiently controlled by Congress. He mentions the report of the 1948 Dulles-Jackson-Correa Committee as the basis of the 1949 "CIA Act" which the author considers insidious and un-American. He says that: "while the original purpose of the Central Intelligence Group does appear to have been one of coordinating existing intelligence forces, this has long since ceased to characterize CIA"; he then refers to various of CIA's alleged "dirty tricks" and proves his point by citing James Reston in the New York Times and Richard and Gladys Harkness in the Saturday Evening Post.

The book's account of CIA frequently mentions the "Kersten Amendment" to the 1951 Mutual Security Act, relating it to "Project X"

and the annual \$100,000,000 appropriation as has often been done in other domestic and foreign Communist propaganda. (For significant passages on CIA, see Enclosure A, Sections I and IV.)

The account of the Committee for Free Europe, the Crusade for Freedom, and Radio Free Europe is largely concerned with suggesting that these organizations are not entirely supported by individual subscriptions, but are subsidized by the US government and closely related to CIA. They are credited with having planned the Hungarian rebellion far in advance and with having had everything in readiness for it. (See Enclosure A, Section II.)

Statements indicating an American intention to liberate the "lands of Socialism" from Soviet domination are from such figures as General W. B. Smith, Secretary of State Dulles, General Wedemeyer, Senator Humphrey, the late Senators Taft and McCarran, and Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. (See Enclosure A, Section III.)

In the two chapters (pp. 184-246) devoted to a description of the Hungarian uprising itself, the author makes less attempt than the previous pages would suggest, to relate specific developments in the revolt to specific plans and activities of CIA. There also seems to be less of an attempt than would be expected to explain Soviet intervention in Hungary (although this, of course, is accepted as in accordance with treaty agreements and with the will of the majority of Hungarians). CIA is accused of circulating lies and atrocity stories in order to keep the revolt going, of using RFE to stir up and sustain the rebellion, and of sending trained agents from Europe and the United States as well

as Hungarian "fascists" into Hungary to participate in the uprising. In general, the accusations are those widely used in Communist propaganda at the time of the revolt. (See Enclosure A, Section VI.)

Two points are made in the course of the book, not always seen in communist propaganda on the subject of Hungary: one that Cardinal Mindszenty is a "clerico-medieval" reactionary whom CIA was preparing to place at the head of its "counter-revolutionary" government in order to ensure a fascist government in Hungary; the other that the "imperialists" may have timed the Hungarian rebellion deliberately to coincide with the British-French-Israeli attack on Suez. (See Enclosure A, Sections VII and VIII.)

The Director of Central Intelligence is frequently mentioned in the course of the book. (See Enclosure A, Section II.)

The author's own views seem to be summed up in passages like the following:

(a) "...in the United States, the scandalous, illegal, and atrocious conduct of the whole CIA apparatus, the 'black propaganda' program, the VOA and RFE recklessness, and the whole strategy of 'liberation' on the one hand and maintenance of the status quo on the other--which are but two hands engaged in a single reactionary operation--should be vigorously condemned. Given sufficient effort and organizational know-how, significant sections of this policy could be undone in a short time." (p. 255)

(b) "More important than the Western efforts to assassinate Communist leaders, is Secretary of State Dulles' calm announcement that

'US forces almost everywhere are equipped with atomic weapons'.... More important than the filthy shenanigans of Allan Dulles and his partner, the Nazi chief saboteur, Reinhard Gehlen, is the announcement that Gen. Hans Speidel...is now commander of Allied Land Forces in Central Europe...." (p. 252)

Herbert Aptheker was born in Brooklyn in 1915 of Russian-born parents. He was educated at Columbia where he received his Ph.D. in 1943. By his own testimony in 1949, he became a member of the Communist Party of the US in about 1939. He was inducted into the Army in 1942, and was promoted to Captain in the Counter Intelligence Corps in 1944. He was relieved from active duty in 1946 and now evidently holds the rank of Major. He has published many books and articles mostly on the subject of the American negro. He has been associated with numerous Communist and left-wing periodicals and organizations.

Enclosure A is a group of passages from subject book believed to contain the essence of Aptheker's comments on matters of interest to CIA.

Enclosure B contains the sources listed by Aptheker minus his opening chapter which deals with non-controversial Hungarian history. It is believed that this list may show the extent to which common published US material contains information that may be used in an attack on CIA.

Enclosure A

Compilation of significant passages

(underlining ours)

I. Origins and Nature of the Central Intelligence Agency

1. pp. 81-2. "President Truman, largely upon the basis of urgent representations by General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, appointed a Central Intelligence Group in January, 1946. Its task was to draw together and help coordinate the intelligence services of the Army, Navy, State and Justice Departments. This organization became fully institutionalized with the passage of an Act by Congress in 1947 establishing the Central Intelligence Agency. This Agency has since had three Directors, Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, General Walter Bodell Smith (formerly Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., later Under-Secretary of State), and its present incumbent, Allan W. Dulles. This Mr. Dulles is the brother of the present Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and was in charge of intelligence, espionage and sabotage work in the European Theatre during World War II. He operated out of a Berns headquarters and was heavily engaged in seeking agreements with "moderate" elements in enemy governments, with whom peace might be made, the private property system preserved, the influence of American imperialism strengthened, the threat of Socialism overcome and the power of the post-war Soviet Union curbed.

The C.I.A., as established by Congress in 1947, was responsible only to another newly-created agency, the National Security Council, headed by the President, which was the top-level policy-making unit, particularly in diplomatic and military matters--overshadowing in fact the Cabinet's function in these areas. From the beginning the CIA lived a life apart--unquestioned and uncontrolled by any of the legislative or constitutional devices in the American system of government. In this sense, the CIA has been above and outside the law to a much greater degree than the Department of State and even the Atomic Energy Commission or the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

2. p. 86. "From time to time the public press issued reports on the growth of the CIA. Thus, an AP dispatch from Washington, October 30, 1947, said: 'The American spy system, although still in its infancy, is robust and growing... The American cloak-and-dagger men are now working noiselessly and invisibly throughout the world.' As one should expect of the richest country in the world, however, the CIA did not remain an infant for long. On the contrary, Cabell Phillips writing in the N. Y. Times, of March 29, 1953, reported it to be 'certainly the biggest... national intelligence agency in the world.'

"The last public reports as to its size, date from 1954. The N. Y. Times published an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated August 7, 1954, which declared that Allen W. Dulles' 'organization is housed in thirty-eight buildings in Washington and deployed around the world.' Estimates of those on its payroll ran up to 30,000 people, expenditures were left somewhat ambiguous: 'above \$500,000,000 a year.' According to a feature series entitled: 'America's Secret Agents: The Mysterious Doings of CIA,' in the Saturday Evening Post, the Agency 'occupies thirty-odd buildings in the capital, maintains 25 domestic offices across the country on a 24-hour basis, and finances unnumbered covert branches around the world...' (October 30, 1954)."

3. p. 88. "The Washington Post of January 9, 1953 is one of the few sources offering an itemized list of CIA activities (some of which we shall elaborate upon hereafter). This list was given as a 'sampling of exploits which have been the subject of many whispered complaints.'

Here the samples as offered by this Washington newspaper:

1. Subsidization by CIA of a neo-Nazi organization which had sought for liquidation the leaders of the (West German) Social-Democratic Party.
2. Immigration for 8 months of a Japanese citizen under course of cross-examination—a job initially undertaken by Gen. Willoughby's Army Intelligence and passed on to CIA.
3. Tapping of the telephone of Jose Figueres, former Costa Rican President, at which a CIA man was caught red-handed.
4. Abortive effort by CIA undercover men to start a revolution in Guatemala and focus it on the United Fruit Company.
5. Burmes and Siamese and Vietnamese suspicions of CIA activity in promoting guerrilla forces from the Burmese border into mainland China on the part of the tattereddemolition expellees among Chiang Kai-shek's defuncted Nationalists."

4. P. 68. "Finally, so far as public and specific references to CIA 'hard-knuckle' work is concerned, there is some material in the series Richard and Gladys Harkness did for the Saturday Evening Post (October 30, November 6, 13, 1954). This series was written after the authors had spent about a year in Washington. As reporters on commission for the Saturday Evening Post, there is no question that they had access to top officials; in this sense, the series has a quasi-official character.

"The authors specifically credit CIA agents with major roles in the reactionary upheavals that overthrew Mossadeq in Iran and put Col. Castillo Armas into power in Guatemala. In the latter case, say the authors, it was the CIA, working with the U. S. Army, of course, who saw to it that the Colonel, 'former officer of the Guatemalan Army who was in exile in Honduras, obtained sufficient guns and munitions to equip each man in a force of fellow anti-Communist refugees with a burp gun, a pistol and a machete.'"

5. p. 107. "Meanwhile the Central Intelligence Agency of the U. S. Government was acting in concert with a very distinguished veteran in the Civilized World's noble battle against Communist Barbarism. We have in mind Reinhard Gehlen, of whom it is necessary to take some notice.

"Gehlen, born about 1900, was a Colonel attached to the German General Staff when World War II began. From 1942 until 1945 Gehlen was in charge of Military Intelligence on the Eastern Front. As such, according to the account by Joachim Joesten (in The New Republic, Oct. 4, 1954), Gehlen was not connected with the traditional German Secret Service, but rather was a top-ranking figure in the Gestapo. Gehlen's staff, according to Joesten, 'was--and still is--trained and indoctrinated by the dreaded Nazi political police.' He performed his duties in occupied Eastern Europe and in the U.S.S.R. to Hitler's satisfaction and had reached the rank of Lieutenant-General by the War's close.

"With the complete victory of the Red Army in the offing, General Gehlen hastened west, to Bavaria, with 'his priceless archives and his lists of underground agents' where he surrendered to General Patton and offered his services to the Americans. Gehlen was released from custody and his offer was accepted. American Intelligence, according to Joesten, 'told him to get right back on the job, and carry on.' Gehlen did so, 'and by early 1946 he was back in business at the old stand, minus the Nazi uniform, and under new management.'

6. p. 108. "Public sources declare that in Gehlen's organization are about 4,000 to 5,000 agents, concentrated in--especially, but not exclusively--the East European countries. It is clear that Byng antedates the return of Gehlen's organization to German governmental control. On

July 20, 1955, there was an Associated Press dispatch from Bonn, beginning: 'The West German government informed Parliament today it planned to take over the American-financed international spy network headed by former Lt. Gen. Gehlen.' It was to be known as the West German Federal Intelligence Service and was to continue 'operating on both sides of the Iron Curtain.' This story asserted that the United States Intelligence had financed the Gehlen network to the tune of about \$45,000,000 since 1948; it declared that this American financing was scheduled to end in August 1955 when the Bonn government would take over (N. Y. Post, July 20, 1955).

"This Gehlen group has functioned fairly smoothly, with only three bad upsets. One, involving the defections of Otto John and Schmidt-Wittmack in 1954 was no doubt costly, but public information is not available. In 1953, quirks and human failings produced another crack 'which,' says Joesten, 'led to the arrest of scores of Gehlen men behind the Iron Curtain.' In 1952 there was another fiasco, involving the CIA, its Gehlen subsidiary and other counter-revolutionary terror groups. This was exposed to public view, briefly but more fully than the 1953 and 1954 blunders. Hence, certain facts and leads and suggestions relevant to our inquiry into official American backing of counter-revolutionary activity and terror became available."

II. Origins and Nature of the Committee for Free Europe and Alleged Associated Activities

1. pp. 96-7. "Meanwhile, beginning in 1948, there were established several quasi-official organizations openly aiming to assist counter-revolution. One of the earliest of these--started in 1948, with the encouragement of His Holiness, the Pope--was described by the New York Times, of December 22, 1950. It told of a school for priests of the Franciscan Order, located in Stamford, Connecticut, who were 'undergoing a rigorous curriculum including courses in Communist ideology and the customs and traditions of Iron Curtain countries.' This was important, because the 'graduates will don their Franciscan garb in four years...ready to slip unheralded into the underground in Russian-dominated countries.' According to the Times, the school had received 'the financial help of Thomas J. Watson,' a notoriously reactionary multi-millionaire, and president of the International Business Machines Corporation.

"The same philanthropist was actively interested in the formation, in 1949, of the Committee for a Free Europe, which launched its first 'Crusade for Freedom,' with General Eisenhower's blessings, that same year. The 'Crusade,' headed by General Lucius D. Clay, collected over \$11 million dollars in its first effort. Also prominent in the early days of this organization were Admiral Harold Miller, formerly on Eisenhower's staff, Arthur W. Page, a director of Chase National Bank, and Allen W. Dulles, then Deputy Director of CIA. Winthrop W. Aldrich, head of the Chase National Bank, was the 'Crusade's' first Treasurer."

2. p. 99. "Because of the great influence of Radio Free Europe, and because of its close relationship to the Hungarian uprising of 1956, it is necessary to deal with it at greater length; something needs to be said also

of its younger brother, 'Free Europe Press.' Both are divisions of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., and are under the general direction of the 'Crusade for Freedom.' Though ostensibly private, its officers and leading sponsors have included and still include men like President Eisenhower, Allen W. Dulles, Generals Clay, Crittenger, and Walter Bedell Smith, Admiral H. B. Miller and former Ambassadors, as Joseph Gray and Whithrop Aldrich. All financial contributions to the Crusade or any of its affiliates are income-tax deductible."

3. pp. 100-01. "It has not been possible to ascertain the budget of the Crusade. When the New York Times asked Mr. W. J. C. Ryan, director of its affiliate, Radio Free Europe, about this, 'he declined to tell, for 'security reasons,' what the budget of Radio Free Europe was' (Jan. 24, 1957). In public campaigns for funds, however, it is known that from 1950 to 1956 it received about \$60,000,000; that it receives additional funds from private and governmental sources, is certain, but how much is not known.

"According to the Wall Street Journal (Nov. 30, 1956) the Free Europe Committee's 'bills have been picked up for the most part by such corporations as Standard Oil of New Jersey, United States Steel, and Ford Motor Company.' On the Board and among the Members of the Free Europe Committee, Inc. are the publisher of Time and Life and Fortune, Henry R. Luce, the President of Hunter College, George W. Shuster, a former Assistant Secretary of State, A. A. Berle, Jr. The biggest money and brass operate through the Crusade for Freedom, including Cardinal Spellman, General David Sarnoff, head of the Radio Corporation of America and the National Broadcasting

Company, Cecil B. DeMille, the movie tycoon, Henry Ford II, Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, Benjamin F. Fairless, of U. S. Steel, Hines Baker, a McCarthyite oil millionaire who heads the Humble Oil Company, Edwlyn Price, head of Westinghouse Electric, Harlow M. Curtice, president of General Motors, Harvey S. Firestone, the rubber monopolist. Chairman of the Crusade's Board is Eugene S. Nelson, Chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. These are among the most prominent of the latter-day Crusaders for Freedom.

"The Nation (December 12, 1956) editorially states, and quite correctly, that 'the attempt to deny these activities are in reality government-sponsored is disingenuous.' The magazine states, what everyone knows and sees, that 'the government has encouraged' the Crusade for Freedom and its entire operation. It indicates also, what is an open secret, that it 'is accountable, in some covert manner, to one of the intelligence services or to the Department of State.' More unequivocally, Douglas Larsen, a Washington columnist for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, says of Radio Free Europe in particular:

The fact is that there has been close, confidential liaison between RFE and various intelligence branches of the U. S. government. And Uncle Sam quietly foots part of the bill for RFE (N. Y. World Telegram and Sun, Nov. 20, 1956).

"The official publications of the Crusade affirm that its essential purpose and that of all its affiliates is 'to sustain the spirit of opposition' among the inhabitants of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria to their present governments. Such a spirit of opposition, in time of war, say these official publications, would be 'equal to many divisions.' Further, in concentrating on the five named--and of these it pays particular attention to Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia--it does so in the belief that 'if some countries are freed, others will be affected.'

"For these semi-military aims and with these announced counter-revolutionary purposes, Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press--in liaison with the Department of State and the Intelligence Service, and in part, apparently, financed by the Government and certainly enthusiastically approved by the Government--directly employ about 2,200 people in the United States and in several European countries. Since 1954, Free Europe Press has dispatched, from West Germany, half a million large plastic balloons, scattering over Eastern Europe 500,000,000 leaflets; since 1955 the same organization has been dropping 12,000,000 miniature newspapers every month in the five countries named above. Radio Free Europe maintains fourteen news-bureau offices 'strategically located along the Iron Curtain from Stockholm to Athens.' It operates 29 radio-transmission stations, located in Portugal and West Germany; one is a medium-wave transmitter of 135,000 watts, others operate on short-wave frequencies with 10,000, 50,000 and 100,000 watts. As a point of reference: the most powerful stations in the United States are limited to 50,000 watts. Programs are beamed to Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, 20 hours a day, every day; to Rumania and Bulgaria, 7 hours each day."

**III. Alleged Evidence That There Was A Long-Standing "Imperialist Plot" Against The
"Lands of Socialism" in General and Hungary in Particular**

1. pp. 73-4. "That this country was picked for special attention by American diplomacy was explicitly stated in a remarkable dispatch sent from Paris, on September 28, 1946, by the well-known journalist, Alexander Kendrick. The extract is fairly long, but it merits the closest attention:

"American foreign policy, seeking some spot in Europe where it can test its 'toughness' and strength, has looked at Hungary and decided like Brigham Young that, 'this is the place'..."

"U. S. support of Hungary—which before the war was the most feudalistic country in Europe, and which during the war seized more territory than any other aggressor except Germany itself—was frankly explained to a small private meeting with the British Dominion's delegates by Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, U. S. Ambassador to Moscow.

"The Communist Party is the party in Hungary; in Czechoslovakia it's the first party; that's why we favor Hungary." Smith is quoted as telling the Dominion representatives...

"The open American wooing of Hungary, it can be stated, is predicated on the assumption that before many months go by the Soviet Army will be withdrawing from Central Europe on a large scale and that the Magyars offer a better chance for return of Western capital and influence than the Rumanians or Bulgarians (PM, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1946).

"Without question, the late and thoroughly expert Professor Oscar Jazsi, stated the essence of the matter, writing on 'The Choices in Hungary' in Foreign Affairs, April, 1946: '...the whole diplomacy of the West is impregnated with a counter-revolutionary spirit'; it was such a line pursued successfully after World War I 'which restored feudalism under the dictatorship of Horthy,' but whether it would succeed after World War II was highly dubious, in Jazsi's opinion."

2. pp. 91-2. "The public record of more or less official American efforts to incite counter-revolutionary activities, in addition to those cited above and directly tied to the Central Intelligence Agency, begins, so far as I have been able to discover, early in 1948. Appropriately enough, the first statement comes from John Foster Dulles, not then Secretary of State, but already one of the top shapers of foreign policy. On April 8, 1948, the N. Y. Herald Tribune published a lengthy summary of Mr. Dulles' view on the necessity, as he saw it, for a 'Counter-Cominform.' The paper quoted Mr. Dulles as explaining:

"The proposed 'Counter-Cominform' would operate in many of the fields of the 'cold war' in which the old Office of Strategic Services operated during World War II. These would include detection of subversive activities, espionage and counter-espionage, counter-propaganda and assistance to democratic movements, including aid to and organization of underground movements in nations already constituted by Communists.

"The newspaper continued:

"Mr. Dulles believes such a 'Counter-Cominform' organization would be a natural adjunct to the European Recovery Program and increase United States military strength in the over-all effort to halt communism...In the interim before the long range effects of the plan are felt, he believes the anti-Communist forces must be encouraged, and that the Counter-Cominform could help in such practical ways as supplying newsprint for democratic newspapers, aiding in radio broadcasts and supplying money for effective democratic political organization."

3. pp. 92-h. "That same year the State Department began the 'Voice of America' network in West Germany, with millions earmarked for the project by Congress. The avowed intent was to induce dissatisfaction and provoke unrest in the areas from Berlin eastward. In the Summer of 1949, Lt. Gen. Wedemeyer, then Director of Psychological Warfare for the Army, urged before a Congressional committee increased appropriations for the Voice, with which he proposed to intensify the anti-Soviet propaganda in the 'areas around Russia.' The General continued,

"Then we could hope to penetrate further into Russia and reach them also with pamphlets and with agents; however, the life of an agent in Russia today would not be worth very much.

"We do have a few. That is something that has to be generated very slowly--an intelligence organization within Russia. We do not get from Russia very good intelligence reports. Our sources are very limited, but they are improving (A. P. dispatch from Washington, published in the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 16, 1949).

"Government officials of the highest rank have repeatedly called for open intervention into the affairs of the Socialist lands in language remarkable for its bluntness. Thus, speaking in Buffalo, N. Y., on February 13, 1951, Senator Hubert A. Humphrey (D. of Minnesota) was quoted in the N. Y. Times (Feb. 14, 1951) as declaring: 'Material aid to underground movements in Russian satellite nations should be included in the European defense plan.'

"Senator Pat. McCarran (D., Nevada), according to the same paper (August 18, 1951) 'proposed' in a televised speech to the nation 'that the United States arm refugees from the Communist states to promote revolution against the Soviet governments.' The notoriously reactionary Senator urged, said the paper, 'that the U. S. give all the support and help it can to "underground insurgent groups" behind the Iron Curtain.'

"Speaking to leaders of the extremely nationalistic American-Hungarian Federation, President Truman, on October 12, 1951, 'said that the United States would keep on trying to bring freedom to Russian satellite nations as long as he was 'resident' (N. Y. Times, Oct. 13, 1951).

"One of the main features of the 1952 Presidential campaign was the vehemence with which the Republicans called for open insurrectionary attempts against the Socialist governments; in contrast the Democrats, while agreeing with the purpose, thought their opponents' tactics were a

little brutal and unsubtle. Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, then one of the most powerful political figures in the country, declared in a coast-to-coast broadcast in June, 1952:

"We must marshal the forces of freedom, both this side and the other side of the Iron Curtain, so they are ready to go if a break in the Kremlin strength or unity every comes.

"It would be criminal to attempt today to foment national revolts in Russia and her satellite countries since that would produce only the murder of the anti-Communists... Nevertheless, we should help the anti-Communist underground to keep the hope of liberty alive among their people. Then, when the time is ripe, opportunities can be exploited.. We ought to employ the native underground agencies in each oppressed country who, with us, believe in freedom, but know far better than we do the means by which their people can be converted to our side... It is reassuring to find that Mr. Dulles' present position is so close to my own... (N. Y. Times, June 2, 1952).

"General Eisenhower, himself, at a press conference that June, when asked: 'Would you help conquer subversion by helping resistance behind the Iron Curtain?' replied in this way: 'My dear sir, when I am in a thing like this, I believe in helping everybody who is on my side.' (N. Y. Times, June 8, 1952.)

"The New York Times in its story dealing with the platform of the Republican Party for the 1952 campaign (July 6, 1952) highlighted its emphasis upon "new and dynamic" efforts to obtain the liberation of the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, now dominated by the Soviet Union." Clearly, said the newspaper, the Republican Party desired to 'encourage opposition to the Communist Governments in those areas, through agents, propaganda, and financial, economic, and even limited military assistance...'

"Eisenhower, as Presidential candidate, in a major address in New York City, August 26, 1952, declared that 'the United States must use its

influence and power to help the Communist-controlled nations of Eastern Europe and Asia throw off the yoke of Russian tyranny' (N. Y. Times, Aug. 26, 1952). Statements of this nature provoked some worry from people at large and some condemnation from Democrats (including President Truman) that the warnings of Senator Taft against efforts to start uprisings at once were being forgotten. In view of this kind of protest, John Foster Dulles, speaking in Buffalo on August 27, offered the following clarification (N. Y. Times, August 28, 1952):

"...the General's liberation policy for Communist-'captive' peoples does not mean violent revolution but peaceful revolution using such 'quiet' methods as passive resistance, noncooperation, discontent, slowdowns, and industrial sabotage..."

"The idea, he said was 'to stir up the resistance spirit behind the Iron Curtain,' as a result of which it was hoped, 'resistance movements would spring up among patriots, who could be supplied and integrated via air drops, and other communications from private organizations like the Committee for a Free Europe.'"

4. p. 104. "In 1953, President Eisenhower appointed a committee of eight to report to him on how the country should conduct its psychological warfare against the lands of Socialism. On this committee were, among others, C. D. Jackson, a millionaire publisher and special assistant to the President, Robert Cutler, White House liaison man with the National Security Council, and the deputy Secretary of Defense, Roger M. Kyes. The public was told only that the Committee recommended an increase in radio broadcasting, but in the N. Y. Times of August 20, 1953, there was this additional, cryptic paragraph:

"The report was given to the President last month but only a small portion of it had been released to the public. A White House statement said many of its recommendations, 'are of a highly classified nature.'

"If Mr. Leviero reported, as he did, in 1952 that the consensus in Washington then was that major counter-revolutionary efforts, in Eastern Europe, were premature, there was a steady drift, as the months wore on, to feel that the ripe time was approaching. This process had its culmination in April, 1955, when General David Sarnoff, head of R. C. A. and N. B. C.-- and a leading figure in the Crusade for Freedom--presented a 'Cold War Plan' to President Eisenhower himself.

"A month later, on May 9, the Sarnoff plan was made public, and soon it was published in full in the U. S. News and World Report (May 27, 1955) taking up ten of its precious pages. An editorial foreword stated that the plan 'was discussed thoroughly with President Eisenhower.' At a press interview held soon after the release of this plan, the New York Times reported that 'President Eisenhower approved a memorandum which the chairman of the board of R.C.A. had submitted to him...(which) embodied an all-out "cold war" thesis' (May 16, 1955). The same issue of this paper reported a speech made by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Democratic Leader of the Senate, at a dinner honoring Sarnoff, also announcing his full endorsement of the General's proposals."

IV. Alleged Evidence That the CIA Apparatus Was Designed for and Would Be Capable of Becoming Implicated in the Various Types of "Dirty Business" Attributed to it, Especially in Hungary

1. p. 79. "The tactics of the American intelligence service in this respect are stated in cold type. Mr. Sherman Kent, during the war an officer in the Office of Strategic Service (OSS), and since the war one of the few publicly identified top-level members of the Central Intelligence Agency, has provided the public with this printed matter. In an interesting volume entitled Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy (Princeton University Press, 1949), Mr. Kent describes the mechanics of intelligence work to be used against an enemy in war or in peace; the only caution he adds, and it is quite imprecise, is that during peace, these mechanics are to be employed 'in their politer guises' (p. 20).

"Mr. Kent describes the various modes of coming to grips with an enemy. These comprise what he calls conventional and political and economic warfare. And, continues Sherman Kent:

"Next down the line is what is termed black propaganda, that which purports to come from dissident elements within the enemy's own population, but which is really carried on in great secrecy from the outside. Sometimes the black propaganda is done by radio, sometimes by leaflet, by fake newspaper, by forged letter, by any and all means occurring to perverse ingenuity. The instrumentalities under discussion thus far have been, by and large, applicable to the target by remote control; there are other instruments which can be employed only by penetrating enemy lines. This group of instruments leads off with the rumor invented and passed along by word of mouth, it includes subornation or perjury, intimidation, subversion, bribery, blackmail, espionage in all its aspects, kidnapping, booby trapping, assassination, ambush, the franc tireur, and the underground army. It includes the clandestine delivery of all the tools of the calling: the undercover personnel, the printing press and radio set, the poison, the explosives, the incendiary substances, and the small arms and supplies for the thugs, guerrillas, and para-military formations (p. 21).

"As I have said, this top-level CIA official, in preparing a text on the employment of 'Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy,' does remark that these particular methods are to be used 'in politer guises' against an 'enemy' when actual war does not exist. But how to prepare more politely the surprises he recommends is, to me, a riddle. However Mr. Kent may unravel this, the available material proves that the recommendations in his text have been the actual practices of his students during the past several years."

2. pp. 83-4. "In 1948, after some grievous errors and mistakes by CIA officials and agents, a committee of three, headed by Allen W. Dulles, was empowered by the President to look into its operation. The result was the enactment of a law, in June, 1949, for the purpose of making the CIA more efficient and more powerful.

"Christian Century commented, editorially, as follows:

Something happened in Washington on March 7 which marks a new milestone in the degradation of the American democratic ideal. At the behest of the new spy service, the Central Intelligence Agency, the House of Representatives suspended its rules to pass, almost unanimously, a bill about which its members knew next to nothing, which they were not permitted to amend or publicly discuss but which was reported in general terms to give legal status to the CIA, and to grant it ample funds and a free hand for its operations.

"The magazine pointed out that there was only one provision of the bill concerning which any public scrutiny or discussion was permitted. This 'was a provision permitting the CIA to bring 100 aliens into the U. S. every year for permanent residence without paying any attention to quota restrictions or immigration regulations and requirements.' Concluded this editorial:

"The mood in which Congress handled the bill was illustrated by two remarks which the press attributed to Rep. J. P. Saxton of Missouri (Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee). On the day before the bill was rushed through, Mr. Saxton was quoted as telling the Rules Committee, 'It's a dirty business.' When the bill came to the floor of the House he asserted that it would be 'supreme folly' to debate its provisions in the open (March 23, 1949, p. 357)."

3. pp. 84-5. "Further significant details as to the organization and operation of the CIA were revealed at the time that Senator Mansfield introduced, in 1953, his first proposal for a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence. This was done by one of the very few newspapers to favor the proposal, the Richmond, Virginia, News Leader. Editorializing on March 30, 1953, it remarked: 'Of the CIA, whose expenditures are reckoned by well-informed observers at something in the neighborhood of \$1 billion a year, the taxpayer knows nothing.'

"It described the 1949 Act as 'one of the most amazing laws ever put on the books.' It explained this characterization by summarizing the law's provisions:

"By this enactment, CIA is made exempt from all rules of purchasing that apply to other agencies. It may hire and fire at will, without regard to civil service regulations. All provisions of law and all regulations 'relating to the expenditure of Government funds' are specifically waived for the CIA. It is above any law that might require 'the publication or disclosure of the organization, functions, names, official titles, salaries, or numbers of personnel employed by the Agency.' The Director of the Bureau of the Budget is flatly instructed to make 'no reports to Congress' of CIA's expenditures, either lump sum or itemized. CIA spends what it pleases, as it pleases, 'solely on the certificate of the Director.'"

"This paper, seeking to learn who were the top administrators of the CIA, had great difficulty and could come up only with the names of a few: Mr. Dulles, himself; Sherman Kent, whom we have met; and Walter E. Wolf, described as the Deputy Director of the CIA, and, apparently at the same time, Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York.

"The Richmond newspaper returned to the same subject on July 17, 1953, and again, in an editorial, offered as full and accurate a summarization of the organizational set-up and powers of the CIA as is available.

"It is a separate and clandestine entity of our Government. One of the most reliable budgetary experts in Washington has told us that he believes CIA's spending 'is in the neighborhood of a billion dollars a year,' yet no committee of Congress can check on this figure...Funds may be transferred to the CIA from other Agencies of Government 'without regard to any provisions of law limiting or prohibiting transfers between appropriations.' Surely that clause in the CIA Act (of 1949) makes a mockery of Congressional control over the public purse.

"No restrictions are laid upon the CIA's activities. The statute reads that, 'Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, sums made available to the Agency by appropriations or otherwise may be expended for purposes necessary to carry out its functions.' The CIA, of course, decides for itself what its functions are. The law specifically approves expenditures for 'personnel services without regard to limitations or types of persons to be employed; radio-receiving and radio-sending equipment; purchase, maintenance, and cleaning of firearms, including purchase, storage, and maintenance of ammunition; acquisition of necessary land; construction of buildings and facilities...'

"All sums made available to the CIA 'may be expended without regard to the provisions of law and regulations relating to the expenditure of Government funds; and for objects of a confidential, extraordinary, or emergency nature, such expenditures to be accounted for solely on the certificate of the Director...'"

4. pp. 86-7. "What is it that these thousands of people do with their hundreds of millions of dollars given to them every year? I suppose no one but the President and the Dulles brothers and one or two other human beings could answer that question. But we know what Mr. Sherman Kent said it should do and we know that Mr. Kent has been one of its handful of really top officials. We have also additional information--of course, from public sources--as to the activities of the CIA, relevant to the subject of this book.

"According to Frank Gervasi's article in Collier's (Nov. 6, 1948):

"The CIA is empowered to hire, train and install in foreign countries those undercover men needed to do the five to ten per cent of the dirty work connected with intelligence.

"He states, as a fact, that: 'The CIA plants agents in countries in the guise of consular officers and other lesser officials.' The only specific example that Mr. Gervasi offers, back in 1948, of CIA exploits is that connected with two agents in Eastern Europe who 'established contact with Rumanian anti-Communists. They helped these elements from an anti-government group,' but they bungled badly and were discovered; presumably that is why Mr. Gervasi was free to tell this particular story.

"He adds that the CIA system 'was patterned after that of the British. This,' he explains, 'means that we, like them will eventually have not one, but eight or nine different spy rings operating in other countries-- friendly countries as well as those which might become enemies.'

"James Reston, one of the top reporters for the New York Times, whose channels of information reach into the highest Washington levels, devoted a feature story one Sunday (December 9, 1951) to a story headlined: 'Millions for Defense Behind the Iron Curtain: Propaganda, Aid to Anti-Communist Groups Are Part of the Cold War.' Mr. Reston starts by saying that the Cold War was being directed not only by the Departments of State and Defense, but also by what 'may be described as a sort of Department of Dirty Tricks.' Clearly Mr. Reston had in mind mainly the CIA.

"The function of this Dirty Trick Department 'is to counter the subversive warfare activities of the Communists in the western world, and to create behind the Iron Curtain all mischief short of war.' The fostering 'of a

diversionary "second front" within the enemy's camp' was a basic task. Outside of the United States these activities were rather well known, Mr. Reston thought, but: 'About the only people who do not know--and they must suspect it--are the American people, many of whom do not know anything about the bare-knuckle aspects of the Cold War.'"

5. p. 91. "At the same moment, talk favoring the implementation of Mr. Dulles' proposals reached the stage where United States Senators were ready to be publicly identified as supporters. This was notably true of Republican Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire. Said the semi-official, Pig-Business Journal, U. S. News and World Report, April 9, 1948:

"One school of thought in Washington and abroad wants Project X performing behind the Iron Curtain with tactics similar to those used by the OSS in wartime. This school advocates strong-arm methods, including assassination if necessary to keep Russia's part of the world in turmoil... American agents, parachuted into Eastern Europe... would be used to coordinate anti-Communist action. Volunteers for such work, many of them veterans of the undergrounds of World War II, already are turning up in Washington to look for jobs."

6. pp. 94-5. "In 1951, as an amendment to the Mutual Security Act, was passed what amounts to the Project X proposals of 1948. The Project, hitherto carried out sporadically and unofficially, was now placed upon a full-time, legal basis, with a yearly appropriation of \$100,000,000 to keep things moving. This 1951 legislation; the 1950 Lodge Act; the Voice of America yearly appropriation beginning in 1948; and the 1947 Central Intelligence Agency Act make up the body of legislation and appropriation (plus untold millions for separate Intelligence agencies of other Departments) which together probably consume between one billion and one billion, two hundred and fifty million dollars every year, and occupy the full-time efforts of somewhere around 100,000 people.

"The Mutual Security Act (of 1951) has as its stated aim, 'to maintain the security and promote the foreign policy and provide for the general welfare of the U. S. by furnishing assistance to friendly nations in the interest of international peace and security.' To this was added an amendment, introduced by Representative Charles Kersten (R., Wis.) and approved by the House (and the Senate and signed by President Truman in October) in the following form, appended to the above:

"and for any selected persons who are residing in or escaping from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, or the Communist-dominated areas of Germany and Austria, or any other countries absorbed by the Soviet Union, either to form such persons into national elements of the military forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes, when it is similarly determined by the President that such assistance is important in the defense of the North Atlantic area and of the security of the United States (Congressional Record, August 17, 1951, vol. 97, p. 10261)."

7. p. 96. "We repeat, it is this Kersten Amendment, authoritatively interpreted for us by Mr. Kersten himself in the terms quoted which became and remains law. The United States government, faced by the official protests of the Soviet Union and the governments of Central and Eastern Europe, insisted that the Kersten Amendment did not mean what its language says and what its sponsor says it means. But even while it was filing these formal protestations, the New York Times (January 18, 1952) was printing this dispatch from its Washington office:

"The Government indicated today that it had already begun to use secretly part of the \$100,000,000 appropriated to aid the escape of men from behind the Iron Curtain who wished to join combat units for the ultimate liberation of their homelands...it was indicated that the State and Defense Departments, the Mutual Security Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency were taking part in its beginning."

8. pp. 103-04. "At rare intervals are published reports not only of sabotage or assassination or other activities of the Dirty Trick Department, but even references to efforts seeking actual overthrow of governments--in addition to such 'successes' as Iran and Guatemala. Thus, the U. S. News and World Report of March 20, 1953, contained a very brief reference to some disappointments experienced by British Intelligence:

"Case of Albania is cited (by it) as one that ought to be easy but hasn't been. It has no land link to Russia, has few Russians around. Yet secret Allied efforts to overturn Albanian Communists, free the country, have so far got nowhere.

"When Senator McCarthy was still indignant at the State Department's 'coddling of Communists' and was even threatening to investigate the CIA, that statesman's favorite journalist, Westbrook Pegler, exploded in his syndicated column of January 15, 1953:

"The Central Intelligence Agency should not have the power to interfere in the internal policies of other countries. Still less should we submit to a stealthy system of conspiracies whereby our money by the million is handed over...to hire street fighters to wage riots and terror in European countries.

"Within eighteen months, Mr. Pegler was whistling another tune, but it came from the same composition, and, in another framework, was equally revealing. In his column of June 30, 1954, millions of readers saw these sentences:

"Not to put too fine a point upon it, one of the obvious duties of our CIA is to organize, launch off and exploit revolutions such as the one in Guatemala where the Communist menace is imminent and acute. A few are allowed to know anything about CIA and there is a sentiment to the effect that it were somehow disloyal and a service to the enemy to discuss this mysterious outfit at all. But practical persons, not necessarily with special knowledge of 'intrigue' must recognize as a fact the expediency and necessity for swift, efficient, successful blows in such crises as the one in Guatemala.

~~"Is it cynical and does one go too far in stating that the CIA, a secret department of the American government, has a duty and a free hand to kick up revolutions in small countries to kick out Soviet puppets? Cynical one may be in so stating, but that is the fact nevertheless..."~~

V. Admitted Faults of the Communist Government of Hungary

Tending to Facilitate Alleged CIA Plots

1. p. 1A7. "Such lack of confidence in the masses robs Socialism of its greatest strength and its decisive advantage over all exploiting systems. In the actual world of today, with imperialism's central purpose the destruction of socialism, this lack of explanation--this absence of a 'mass line,' as the Chinese Communists call it and practice it--is made to order for internal and external enemies of Socialism. In such an atmosphere the agent and the provocateur, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, the restorationist and fascist, can have--and in Hungary, did have--a field day."

2. p. 1A8. "How much of the efforts of imperialist intelligence went into the task of speeding the policy of repression in the lands of Socialism one does not know. But certainly that repression was fundamentally alien to Socialism; to build it up, to bulwark it with atrocious systems of frame-up and physical terror would be a prime aim of provocateurs. To this writer it seems clear, especially bearing in mind the announced purposes of Anglo-American intelligence, that some of this was the work of agents-provocateurs. But this cannot be the basic explanation of the systematized repression which came into being. True, the challenge of imperialism is a basic source. But related are the aberrations in Party organization and functioning and the 'forgetting' of decisive considerations--for any adherent of Socialism--of national sentiments, real popular sovereignty, the improvement of living conditions and the general ennoblement of mankind. It is this ennoblement which is the aim and purpose of Marxism-Leninism--its beginning and its goal and its reason for existing."

VI. Alleged CIA-CFE Activities During the Uprising

1. pp. 195-6. "Yet there was, for reasons we have tried to make clear, wide public willingness to accept the worst possible rumors, especially concerning the Russians, and the world-wide commercial radio and press apparatus did its best to invent and magnify 'atrocity' tales. In addition to this one about the six hundred slaughtered in Parliament Square, another tenacious lie started and repeated everywhere as if by magic (the pages on the CIA earlier in this book identify the magician), was to the effect that the Russian 'savages' had massacred one hundred, two hundred--the final figure was three hundred--infants and children in a clinic. Pictures appeared, complete with empty cribs, and the story was repeated a thousand times; it was not until November 13, 1956--when order had returned and the lie could no longer be maintained--that the N. Y. Times carried a joint dispatch from Reuters, Associated Press and United Press correspondents in Budapest that none of the children had been killed; indeed, that 'none of the 300 or more children had been injured.'"

2. pp. 216-17. "Thus, a United Press dispatch from Budapest, on October 25, 1956, stated:

"The rebels were well armed. It was this that provided the first indication that an apparently well trained, well equipped underground had chosen this mounting ferment in Hungary as the moment to strike against Communist rule.

"On the same day, the Budapest correspondent of the London Daily Mail reported that he had dined with leaders of the uprising 'who for a year plotted this week's revolt.' Considerably fuller was the United Press story, dated October 30, filed by Kurt Neubauer from the border town of

Nickelsdorf, in Austria. After prolonged questioning of many armed rebels, Mr. Neubauer concluded: 'It was fairly obvious today the Hungarian revolution had been planned for months--or even years.' While, when he asked, 'How did you get so many guns?' he received as an answer 'each time only a stony silence,' and while when he asked, 'you mean you've been planning this uprising for a long time, getting ready, been waiting?' he also received no answer, still the reporter concluded as I have indicated. This was because, as Neubauer wrote:

"Only hours after the revolt started last week every one seemed to be armed--some with pistols, some with rifles and a few with machine guns. Thousands of tri-colored arm bands sprouted on the sleeves of volunteers. Some one had to make them. Men rode into battle on trucks. Mobilizing the vehicles was no small task. Such plans could not have been drawn up in a day or a week."

3. p. 226, "Certainly, streams of fascist and reactionary exiles did pour into Hungary after October 23. Unquestionably this was basically of an organized nature and may even have had one over-all command center. It is noteworthy, as the well-known Washington reporter Drew Pearson stated in his syndicated column dated November 8, 1956, that: 'By some strange coincidence, practically every exiled satellite leader now living in Washington went back to Paris just before the Hungarian revolt.' Included were Nikolajczyk formerly of Poland, Cesaky formerly of Czechoslovakia, Dimitrov formerly of Bulgaria, and Ferenc Nagy, formerly of Hungary. Mr. Pearson says: 'Maybe they had a premonition of events to come.'"

h. p. 229. "We have already indicated that anarchic conditions had made crossing the frontier nothing but a physical act--so long as one was anti-Communist. Reflective of these conditions was the somewhat dramatic case of Stuart Whitehill Kellogg of Massachusetts, who was studying, under the GI bill, at Bonn University. He had left Bonn and, dressed in an American army uniform, had entered Hungary and participated in fighting in Budapest on November 24. This was publicized only because he managed to return to West Germany and was having passport difficulties (N. Y. Post, Feb. 1, 1957; N. Y. Times, Feb. 28, 1957).

"The trained fascist killers who went into Hungary did not come only from Europe. There is convincing evidence that some even made the trip from the United States and that these also participated in the violence in Hungary. In New York City there was established, late in 1956, an extreme Right-wing Hungarian newspaper, called Szabad Magyarseg. In its issue of December 21, 1956 there is an article by Hugo Martonfalvy, deputy-group commander of MHRK in the United States. This gentleman expresses regret that the Western powers did not actively intervene, with arms and troops, in the Hungarian uprising.

"He continued:

A little group, all of them former Hungarian soldiers, members of the MHRK, however, did go over to resume contact with the rebels in spite of all obstacles and prohibitions. The role of this little group perhaps did not weigh very heavily in the scale, but it became the symbol of the will to fight of the emigrant national Hungarians.

Our quiet work throughout the years did not prove to be fruitless. At the outbreak of the revolt we started negotiations and our leadership was ready for all active moves. Our work, of course, is by its very nature silent and in some respects secret.

"Major Toronto newspapers carried advertisements, in November, 1956, of an 'Organization for Hungary,' headed by one A. Kovari, appealing for money and volunteers ready 'to accept military discipline' in order 'to help actively' in Hungary. See the story in the Canadian Tribune, Dec. 17, 1956."

5. pp. 230-31. "Meanwhile, Western imperialism sent Hungarian reaction, via its broadcasting stations in West Germany and Austria, everything from inspiration to promises of armed help (especially after the American Presidential elections, to be held November 6), to specific directions for the conduct of hostilities then going on. If the reader will bear in mind the origins and political motivation of the Voice of America program and the Radio Free Europe subsidiary of the Crusade for Freedom—described earlier—he will be better able to grasp the significance of this radio invasion of the Hungarian air,

"Normally, Radio Free Europe directed its broadcast to Hungary on a 20-hour per day schedule. Other groups, as the Voice of America, the British and French broadcasting companies and the Vatican Radio also paid special attention to Hungary for from 1½ to 4½ hours each day. All, beginning on October 23, expanded their program and positively saturated the air, every minute of every day, with broadcasts beamed to every part of Hungary.

"These broadcasts, particularly those emanating from Radio Free Europe, explicitly urged the overthrow of the Hungarian government and then kept calling for the raising of more and more demands upon the Nagy government. The broadcasts insistently urged a continuation of armed resistance and plainly promised that important material aid would soon be forthcoming from the West. In some cases radio broadcasts, apparently not directly connected with RFE, took over the task of offering specific tactical directions of a clearly military nature."

VII. The Matter of CIA's Alleged Choice of Cardinal Mindszenty
as Leader of Hungary After "Counter-Revolution"

1. pp. 214-215. "In the publication of the Free Europe Committee, entitled The Revolt in Hungary, to which reference has already been made, there is printed (pp. 79-80) the text of a speech by the Cardinal delivered via radio near midnight of Nov. 3. Here twelve paragraphs occur--and some of the words in the McCormac dispatch appear--rather than two, but even here ellipses appear five times indicating extensive omissions. I think it is fair to assume that the editing of the speech by the hierarchy in Vienna and the authorities of the Free Europe Committee was such as not to emphasize any ultra-reactionary content that might alienate American public opinion.

"Be that as it may, this version, as the McCormac version, contains the essence of a counter-revolutionary outlook and program, which alone could be expected from Cardinal Mindszenty by anyone who has any knowledge of his history and ideology. The Cardinal starts by declaring: 'I need not break with my past.' On the contrary, he affirms: 'I stand by my convictions physically and spiritually intact, just as I was eight years ago' --and for those, once again, the reader is referred to the appropriate earlier pages of this work. To him, he repeated, the changes of 1945, represented 'a regime [which] was forced on us.' Further, he declared:

Those who participated in the fallen regime are responsible for their activities, omissions and default. If things proceed decently and according to promises made, my task will not be to make accusations.

"And he did, in this version as in that issued by the Church in Vienna, say: 'We support private ownership which is rightly limited by

"So bad had conditions on the streets become by November 3 that even General Bela Kiraly, a new and extremely nationalistic leader of Hungarian military forces, appealed for a cessation of violence, denounced the incitements of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, and said 'what the revolution now needed was to have the workers return to their jobs' (N. Y. Times, Nov. 3, 1956). On the same day, in the Harold Tribune, Barrett McGurn told of 'revolutionary' groups who

were distributing freshly printed leaflets asserting that Russia's own people should follow Hungary's example and rebel now against Communism in the name of God and freedom. The pamphlets urged that Hungary carry its liberation eastward to the Russians. To let the Russians read, too, part of it was printed in their language."

VIII. Matter of the Timing of the Uprising Coincidentally with Suez Attack

1. p. 199. "It is within this immediate context that the position of the USSR must be weighted; it is under these circumstances that she had to view--as did the Hungarian Party leadership--the Hungarian assault, with the clear participation of external counter-revolutionary forces (which we will demonstrate in due course) as either part of an effort, perhaps still to develop in other spots, to launch a general war; or as part of a diversionary assault immobilizing Soviet resistance to the naked Anglo-French imperialistic aggression. In either case, with either motive, the timing of the two events must have seemed--and still seems--something other than coincidental. Certainly, to those responsible for the security of the USSR, the two events must have appeared interlocked. The vigorous and successful leadership of the Soviet Union in containing the aggression against Egypt and in bringing about its relatively prompt cessation is a matter of indubitable and uncontroverted fact. Its policy vis-a-vis the Hungarian events is to be examined in the light of this expanded crisis."

2. *p. 206. "It is worth noting that Britain and France began the bombing of Egypt on October 31; on November 1, their troops were invading Egyptian territory."

IX. Summary of References to Allen W. Dulles

1. p. 74 note. "Gen. Smith later became Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to be succeeded by the present incumbent, Allen W. Dulles."
2. p. 81. This Agency has since had three Directors, Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, General Walter Bedell Smith....and its present incumbent, Allen W. Dulles. This Mr. Dulles is the brother of the present Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and was in charge of intelligence, espionage and sabotage work in the European theatre during World War II."
3. p. 83. "In 1948...a committee of three, headed by Allen W. Dulles, was empowered by the President to look into its operations."
4. p. 85. "This paper [Richmond News Leader], seeking to learn who were the top administrators of the CIA, had great difficulty and could come up with the names of a few: Mr. Dulles himself; Sherman Kent...."
5. p. 86. "I suppose no one but the President and the Dulles brothers and one or two other human beings could answer that question."
6. p. 97. [Among those prominent in the early days of the Crusade for Freedom] "...Allen W. Dulles, then Deputy Director of CIA..."
7. p. 99. "Though ostensibly private, its officers and leading sponsors have included and still include men like President Eisenhower, Allen W. Dulles, Generals Clay, Crittendenberger, and Walter Bedell Smith...."
8. p. 252. "...More important than the filthy shenanigans of Allen Dulles and his partner, the Nazi chief saboteur, Reinhard Gehlen...."

Enclosure B

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